/67 cont./

Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the place from which it came, and the time the immigration took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call "Tunpapire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances. What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions, such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth century, which quite justly might be called: century of the globes?

1773 They recount that "Aguara Tunpa," Fox-God, tried to destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To achieve this end he made use of the "Iguasu," big water; he then opened the gates or shores of the seas and flooded the whole land; the waters of the earth's surface called those of the sky "Iporu," flood, and thus the human race perished. But before there took place the total destruction of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a woman took her two children, a male and a female, put them in a "Choguão," big gourd, left them to the mercy of the waters, and, when these went down, they found themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Cururu," toad, took pity on them, bringing them fire in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

173 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Miani," [55] which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

/116 cont./

797
829
177

Difficulties in Reducing Them

If among other tribes missionaries have been able to found missions without considering the material advantages for the Indian, among the Chiriguano this has not been the case. I can say that almost all of them have been founded when the Indian was undergoing some calamity or persecution by his neighbors: Santa Rosa, Ivu, Parapiti, etc. were founded in this way. The Indian does not consider his spiritual well-being; when he admits the missionary into his land, he is thinking of the material advantages. By the same token if in other missions young and old are baptized without distinction, among these people this is not what happens. To baptize an adult Indian who is enjoying good health would be like asking for pears from an elm; he only requests this sacrament when he sees that there is no longer any hope of life, and in the first years of a mission even this is difficult and a great many of them reject it categorically. I could enumerate cases which have happened to me. There are persons who want to be condemned simply because they have heard from the lips of missionaries that those who do not receive baptism are not saved, and, inasmuch as nobody received it before the founding of the mission, they want to descend to the place of punishment in order to see their loved ones again. Oh sad and lamentable ignorance, from which some do not wish to emerge (2)!

2. In Yvu there was less difficulty because of the proximity of Santa Rosa, and in Parapiti there was none because of the repeated foundings in that place.

In case of calamity or persecution, the missionary is quickly sought by the caciques, who do not rest until they have gained their ends. One modern proof of this is offered to us in the case of the cacique of the village of Pipi, who

/116 cont./

797
829
177

not long ago continually appeared at the Yvu mision to take me to found a mision in his town and thus to free it from persecution by a neighbor, according to what he said. For this he promised everything, goodness, docility, adherence, free work, and all the rest; religion and baptism only were reserved for children, as in other towns. While the Indian is well off and not bothered by anyone in his lazy life with its frequent drinking, it is not easy to get good things out of him.

797
829
891
177

/117/ Even for the education of a child it is necessary to bribe the Indian with material things. He does not resist handing over his children, but he wants them to be given clothing. No matter how much they may have, he brings them to school completely naked or with a shirt all ragged and torn, so that the missionary will immediately dress them, and let it be noted that he does not ask this as a favor. Up to a certain point he seems to demand it, saying, "Ropa eneé chupé," "give him clothing. If the missionary asks something as a favor, he must pay them back in material things; should he forget, they ask for them.

829
797
177

It has already been seen that the Tarairi mision was founded in the year 1854, this being the first founding to take place on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River, being due to the zeal of Father José Giannelli. It was near Easter, and the missionary let it be known to various caciques that at that time there would be a commemoration of the death of God and that they should also come, with their pains and afflictions, to demonstrate their adherence to the truths and dogmas of the Catholic faith. He knew through experience that the Chiriguano have a special tenderness for the dead. In fact, a great number of them gathered there to hear the word of the missionary father, who thought that he had conquered them all, seeing them so attentive and silent and seeing them crying and full of compunction. But Easter came, the day of joy, and those who had come to cry about the death of Jesus came once more before the missionary, asking for new

/117 cont./
829 797 177 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 842 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training them, [756] [273] [885] have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 796 [881] [842] /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage, suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a 797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
591 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
169 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
799 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
• 829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
179 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/123 cont./

797 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much
829 progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some
179 effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

600

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians
511 suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry
[132] in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the
[146] hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/126 cont./

797 Religion. that of reading and writing. and even the art of musical chords. which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands. and in those of Tarija. two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult. whenever he wishes. the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter. and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when. ecstatically. he contemplates the grandiose. strong. and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission. that of the elevated Machareti Mission. that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission. and the one which. as though by enchantment and with order. is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797 All of this shows that the Chiriguano. in spite of his
157 indolence. is docile. and with gentleness and a little strictness
177 at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that. though he does have his vices and defects. certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching. with civilization. as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant. or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key. a lock. or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with
• 829 Chiriguano religion. I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment. they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may
[736] have to obtain it. If someone is sick. he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan. all are his fathers. mothers. grandparents. and brothers and sisters. or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/130 cont./

What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Iguembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tich, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things.

/204 cont./

Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like hummingbirds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

1- Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

6: Nordenskiöld--20 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/167 cont./ C 175 648
to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire-arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

C 175 797
Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

Ee 829
Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

Ce [173]
If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

Ce 173 648 [134]

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

Ce [113]

Ce [167]